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The AMERICAN OBSERVER

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. —James Monroe

VOLUME II, NUMBER 13

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 30, 1932

Congress Ready for Prohibition Battle

Wets Push Movement to Modify Volstead Act and Permit Beer Immediately

ATTITUDE OF HOOVER UNKNOWN

Repeal Resolutions May Also Be Taken Up During Coming Session

When Congress meets next week, one of the first questions to be taken up will be prohibition. For several weeks, senators and representatives have been assembling in Washington preparing to debate that controversial issue. In the Senate, a resolution calling for repeal of the eighteenth amendment was left as "unfinished business" from the last session and, as a result, will receive early consideration. Wets will do everything within their power to pass such a resolution in both houses so that the question may be submitted to the states for their action. The greatest efforts of the wets, however, seem to be bent on putting through Congress a bill modifying the Volstead Act so as to permit the manufacture and sale of beer. "Beer by Christmas" and "Beer before March 4" have become slogans among the wets. The drys believe such slogans are only the expression of vain hopes. They are confident that they can prevent any changes in the prohibition laws during the coming session.

Problems of Revenue

There is, of course, much logic in the drys' contentions. It will still be the Seventy-second Congress that meets next week. The men and women who assemble will be the same as those who sat last session. That Congress was a dry Congress. Both houses refused on several occasions to pass beer bills or to vote in favor of a change in the eighteenth amendment. The wets were never able to gather as many as half the votes on any of their bills. If they are to be more successful during the coming session, it will mean that a large number of senators and representatives have changed their positions since July. Has such a change taken place? Are sufficient members ready to vote in favor of modifying the laws? The fate of prohibition during the next few months will depend upon an answer to these questions.

The most potent factor on the side of the wets in the present struggle is the government's need of money. The treasury is badly in need of funds, a large part of which could be provided by legalizing beer and placing a tax upon it. The new taxes imposed last session have proved insufficient to balance the budget. During the first four months of the present fiscal year—starting July 1—the government went behind more than \$700,000,000. Should it continue to run behind at that rate, it will have piled up a deficit of more than \$2,000,000,000 at the end of next June when it closes its books.

Such a large sum could not be raised by a tax on beer. The exact amount of revenue to be derived from such a tax has been estimated from \$300,000,000 to \$750,000,000 annually. The revenue would, of course, depend upon the amount

(Continued on page 8)



—Fitzpatrick in St. Louis POST-DISPATCH

THE ARMY STILL MARCHES
Disarmament, debts and the Far East dispute, three big problems of war, all reached a critical stage last week.

Hoover and Roosevelt Discuss War Debts at White House but Are Silent on Results

On November 22, the eyes of the world turned to the capital of the United States, for issues of momentous significance had come to a head there and decisions which might affect the course of affairs throughout the world were being made. The precedent-making conference between the president of the United States and the man who has been elected as his successor was being held in the White House. Governor Roosevelt arrived at the executive mansion, which after March 4 will be his home, at 3:45 in the afternoon. He was accompanied by Professor Raymond Moley of Columbia University, his economic adviser. He was ushered into the Red Room of the White House where President Hoover and Secretary of the Treasury Mills awaited him.

For about two hours, they discussed the war debt situation and perhaps the reduction of armaments. No press representatives were present. No stenographic report was made. There was no detailed announcement of the subjects of conversation. But President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt are known to have discussed the requests of the debtor nations for a postponement of the December 15 payments and for a reconsideration of their obligations.

Late that night, the president-elect held an important conference with members of Congress. Between the conference with

the president of the United States and the conference with congressional leaders, Governor Roosevelt attended a dinner given in his honor by the National Press Club. He might well have been wearied and abstracted by the cares and responsibilities of his strenuous day, but he exhibited one of his striking characteristics by showing himself lively, enthusiastic, attentive to every casual conversation in which he engaged. He listened with keen interest to the program which had been arranged for him and laughed heartily and spontaneously at each bit of humor. He gave the appearance of having separated himself temporarily from past and future in order that he might be vigorously alive to the moment. There was about him a vitality and enthusiasm, a spirit of whole-hearted friendliness which denoted poise and self-control. A responsiveness to the demands of each moment, a seeming enjoyment of the flow of incidents which make up life, the fact of a sense of humor, coupled with an alertness of mind and thoughtfulness of demeanor—these are among the personality marks of the man who is soon to become our president.

The quality of the president-elect's leadership is being tested by the conferences in which he is engaging. The position he takes toward the pressing international problems of the hour may show whether he is a follower or moulder of public opinion.

France and Britain Present Arms Plans

New Proposals Made at Geneva Before Session of Bureau of Disarmament Conference

OVERTURES TO GERMANY SEEN

Efforts Are Made to Persuade Her to Cooperate With Conference

During the past several weeks discussions have been renewed among the nations over the intricate and trying problem of arms reduction. The bureau of the disarmament conference—a committee of nations which is preparing the way for the reconvening of the general conference no later than January—has been holding sessions in Geneva. This body is attempting to work out the principles of a general program for the reduction of armaments in order that the actual conference may continue its discussions when it eventually meets.

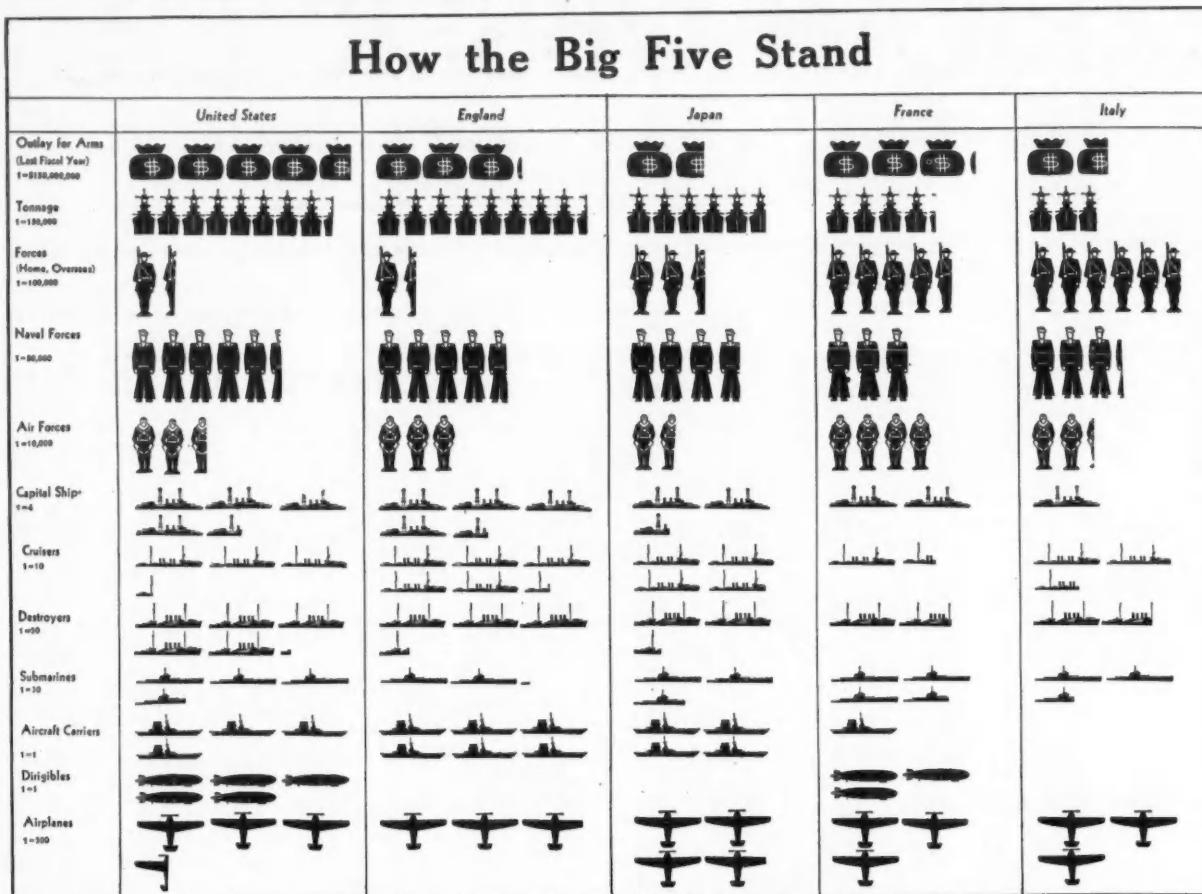
New Plans

By way of contributing to the preparation of this program, several important nations have formally re-expressed their views before the bureau with regard to the armaments question. Chief among these are France and Great Britain. Both countries have submitted new plans for the consideration of the delegates at Geneva. These plans contain a number of old ideas, threshed out many times before at Geneva, and a few new ones. Together with the Hoover plan calling for a general reduction of armaments by one-third proposed last June, the French and British statements constitute the principal topics for discussion. There is some talk about a Japanese plan, reported to have been prepared, but no details have yet been published.

It is thought that if an acceptable program is to be drawn up, it will come through some compromise of the American, French and British proposals. If these three countries can come to an agreement there may be some hope for success at Geneva.

But before actual discussion of the features of a possible plan for arms reduction can be entered into, the delegates at Geneva must dispose of an important problem. They must persuade Germany to rejoin the conference, else there is scant hope for success. It will be remembered that during the latter part of August Germany declared that unless her right to an equality of armaments were recognized she would no longer coöperate with the disarmament conference. In other words, Germany wants to revise Part V of the Versailles Treaty, which limits her armaments to a point considerably below that of the victorious nations. The Germans claim that legally they are entitled to equality—that the Versailles Treaty was intended to bring this about by imposing upon the winning countries the obligation to disarm. And inasmuch, say the Germans, as this disarmament has not in fact taken place, they can no longer tolerate a status of inequality. It is time, they think, that what they consider their right be recognized.

It is evident that the problem raised by a declaration of this kind must be settled before the conference can proceed with its



This chart showing the relative positions of the five major powers with respect to armaments is reprinted through the courtesy of *World's Work*.

work. Few nations would be willing to join in a program for the reduction of armaments in the face of German threats to increase their own armaments. Every nation in Europe would feel less secure if Germany, by her own action, should declare invalid a part of the Versailles Treaty. If any provision of that treaty is to be altered, nations like Great Britain and France believe, it must be altered by international consent and not by a one-sided declaration on the part of Germany.

Maneuvers

The task, therefore, is to pacify Germany and to induce her to take her place at the conference. To this end both the French and the British have made distinct overtures to Germany in their disarmament proposals. The British have straightforwardly admitted Germany's claim and the French have by implication conceded it. They want Germany to return to Geneva and discuss the problem. Germany insists that there must first be an open and clear understanding that in any agreement for arms reduction to be concluded she will be given a position of complete equality. The French appear reluctant to make such a declaration at this time, although they imply that German equality will receive due recognition. They would prefer, however, to save themselves the embarrassment of appearing to have lost a point to Germany. It would suit them much better if Germany would quietly come back to Geneva and discuss the problem with a tacit understanding that her position is secure and that she will have her equality.

It is a delicate situation, one in which the prestige of nations—always so jealously guarded—is involved. Germany does not wish to give the impression that she has been lured back to Geneva by subtle French diplomacy and France is anxious not to convey the impression that a section of the sacred Versailles Treaty is no longer applicable. Both countries are, so to speak, fencing to secure the most advantageous position.

And again, France is reluctant openly to concede the point of Germany's right to armaments equality because of the war debt question. The French are not very well disposed toward the United States at this particular moment since there are indications that we may not grant an extension of the debt moratorium pending a re-examination of the debt situation. It is known that our government is exceed-

ingly anxious to smooth out the problem of German arms equality in order that the conference may proceed with its work. Therefore the French feel that they possibly may have a better chance of securing more favorable consideration on the debts if they hold back full recognition of Germany's right to armaments equality.

French Plan

But whatever the reasons behind the maneuvers of the various nations with regard to the problems of debts and armaments, whatever the reasons for France's refusal openly to concede Germany's right to equality of armaments, the fact remains that in the plan which she has laid before the bureau of the disarmament conference a definite concession is included. France has proposed that the armaments of Europe be reorganized in such a way as would bring Germany into a position of theoretical equality. This concession is apparent as we examine the plan.

As might be expected the French proposal is elaborate and comprehensive. It is made, first, with an eye to increasing the security of Europe and, secondly, to limiting armaments. As a means of obtaining this security the French ask that the Pact of Paris (Kellogg Pact) be strengthened, that the members of the League undertake to enforce Article XVI providing for action against any violator of the covenant, and that continental European nations be given a pledge of assistance in case of attack or invasion.

The first request is of greatest interest to this country because our government as a signer of the Pact of Paris is asked formally to take upon itself certain definite obligations. The French wish all signers of the pact to recognize the principle that any war violating the Pact of Paris shall be a matter of concern to all the nations which have agreed to the treaty. The violator shall be deemed to have committed an offense against all other signers of the pact. This means that no nation having agreed to the Pact of Paris may adopt an attitude of complete neutrality in case the agreement is violated.

Consultative Pact

Secondly, France asks that if violation of the pact should threaten or occur, the signatory powers shall consult with each other as soon as possible "with a view to appealing to public opinion and agreeing to the steps to be taken." This request implies that the United States should join in

a general consultative pact and agree to confer with other nations in the event of a threat to peace. Secretary Stimson has already stated that the terms of the Pact of Paris implied such an obligation to consult on the part of all signatory powers, but there is difference of opinion as to whether our government would be willing or would think it necessary definitely to commit ourselves to such action by signing a formal consultative pact.

Third, the French would like to have all signatory powers agree to subject any nation violating the pact to a complete economic and financial boycott. And finally, the request is made that those nations undertake to refuse to recognize any situation or the settlement of any dispute brought about through violation of an international agreement. This last is an amplification of the Stimson Doctrine, enunciated last January. At that time Secretary Stimson said that we would not recognize a settlement of any dispute resulting from a violation of the Pact of Paris. The French have enlarged this to include all treaties.

Having gained these pledges of security the French feel that members of the League of Nations could undertake unhesitatingly to enforce Article XVI of the Covenant, and that the nations of Europe could embark upon a plan of disarmament. However, they think that in addition to the above assurances the countries of continental Europe should be given pledges of assistance in case of invasion or attack. They plan to obtain this by having each nation on the European continent maintain a special armed unit subject to the control of the League of Nations. In the event of attack or invasion the Council of the League would call for as many of these units as were necessary to repulse the aggressor. The plan is for a kind of international army to preserve the peace of Europe.

European Armies

If this were done, France thinks, it would not be necessary for the nations of Europe to maintain the large armies they have at present. They plan to make them into small defensive police forces established on a uniform basis. At present, one nation has a conscript army, drafting citizens to serve in the army for a certain period of time and another has a professional army of trained soldiers who enlist for a number of years. Germany has this kind of a professional army and France

has a conscript army. The French would make all armies into small conscript militias and would abolish professional armies. Thus, Germany would have the same kind of defensive army as France and other countries and would attain a status of equality in this respect.

In order to give assurance that these militias would be purely defensive, the French propose that they be permitted to use only certain types of armaments. Some arms are suited only to defensive warfare and others are designed for attack. Such so-called heavy armaments would be maintained for use only by the units placed at the disposal of the League. They could not be brought into service by the defensive army of a nation except in case of extreme need for self-defense. Moreover, it is stipulated that these armaments shall be manufactured uniformly and that they shall be subject to international control and investigation. Reinforcing these measures would be a pledge on the part of European nations to arbitrate all disputes.

Naval and Air Forces

So much for the reduction of land armaments in Europe. The French also make proposals with regard to naval and air forces. They suggest a Mediterranean naval pact, by which the nations interested in that region would agree to cooperate in a manner similar to the proposed joint action for land armies in continental Europe. Moreover, the French believe that overseas forces—navies maintained for the protection of colonies and overseas interests—should not be used for other purposes. And they think that substantial reductions in naval armaments could be made if the nations could come to political understandings with regard to certain regions. An example of such an understanding is the Four Power Pacific Pact in which, for instance, the United States agreed not to fortify its possessions in the Pacific. Finally, the French ask that all nations signing the proposed disarmament convention pledge themselves to supply the League of Nations with naval forces should joint action prove necessary for the protection of any state made the victim of aggression.

The last section of the French plan calls for the abolition of bombing from the air, the establishment of a European Air Transport Union, and the maintaining of special air forces at the disposal of the League of Nations, just as is provided for land armies. Under the Union, civil aviation in Europe would be internationally organized and controlled, thus safeguarding against the conversion of civil planes into military machines.

British Plan

The British plan, advanced by Sir John Simon, may be more briefly stated. In the matter of naval armaments it would permit Germany to build larger vessels than now permitted her by the Versailles Treaty. She would be allowed to maintain ships as large as those of other powers but must not increase the total tonnage now allowed her. The British, in addition, wish to reduce certain types of cruisers to conform with those of Germany and propose the total abolition of submarines.

With respect to land armaments the British suggest that heavy tanks be prohibited but stress the defensive character of light tanks, which, they believe, should be retained. They would reduce the size of large movable guns and agree to the reorganization of the German army provided there is no increase in total strength. In the case of air armaments the British propose the abolition of bombing from the air (except "for police purposes in outlying places") and the international control of civil aviation. This, however, they feel would take a long time to accomplish and meanwhile they propose the reduction of the air forces of the major powers to the size of the British which ranks fifth. Once this is done they propose a further cut of one-third to conform with President Hoover's suggestion for an all-around reduction in armaments.

Belfast Tense as Prince Dedicates Parliament Buildings

Wales' Visit Revives Ancient Animosities Between People of Northern Ireland and Great Britain. Nationalists Stage Demonstrations.

The Prince of Wales, heir to the British throne, made his first trip to Belfast, the capital of Northern Ireland, on November 16. The object of his visit was to dedicate the new parliament buildings at Stormont, five miles out of Belfast. The 1,500,000 inhabitants of Northern Ireland awaited the prince's arrival with conflicting emotions. To most of them, it was an occasion of rejoicing for they remain loyal to the British crown. They had made preparations to extend a cordial welcome to the royal visitor. But to many others, the prince's presence in Belfast offered an occasion to show their displeasure. These were the so-called Nationalists. They have long been clamoring for a completely independent Ireland and have seized upon every occasion to give vent to this ardent desire. Thus, they tore up railroad tracks, laid mines along the lines and resorted to other extreme measures to prevent Irishmen from attending the ceremony.

These recent events add another episode to the Irish question which has been a burning issue for more than seven hundred years and which has again become acute during the past several months. The tenseness of emotions prevailing throughout Erin at the dedicatory ceremony is just another manifestation of the numerous clashes, internal and external, which fill the pages of Irish history.

Today, Ireland, an island scarcely as large as the state of Maine, stands a country divided against itself. It has two distinct governments, that of Northern Ireland with the capital at Belfast, and that of the Irish Free State with the seat of government at Dublin. The territory of the former political division is slightly larger than the state of Connecticut. It is made up of six counties in the province of Ulster and most of its inhabitants reside in the capital. The Irish Free State is about five times as large although its population is only 3,000,000—about twice as much as that of Northern Ireland. Not only is unity between these two regions completely lacking but sharp dissensions exist among the people of each of them.

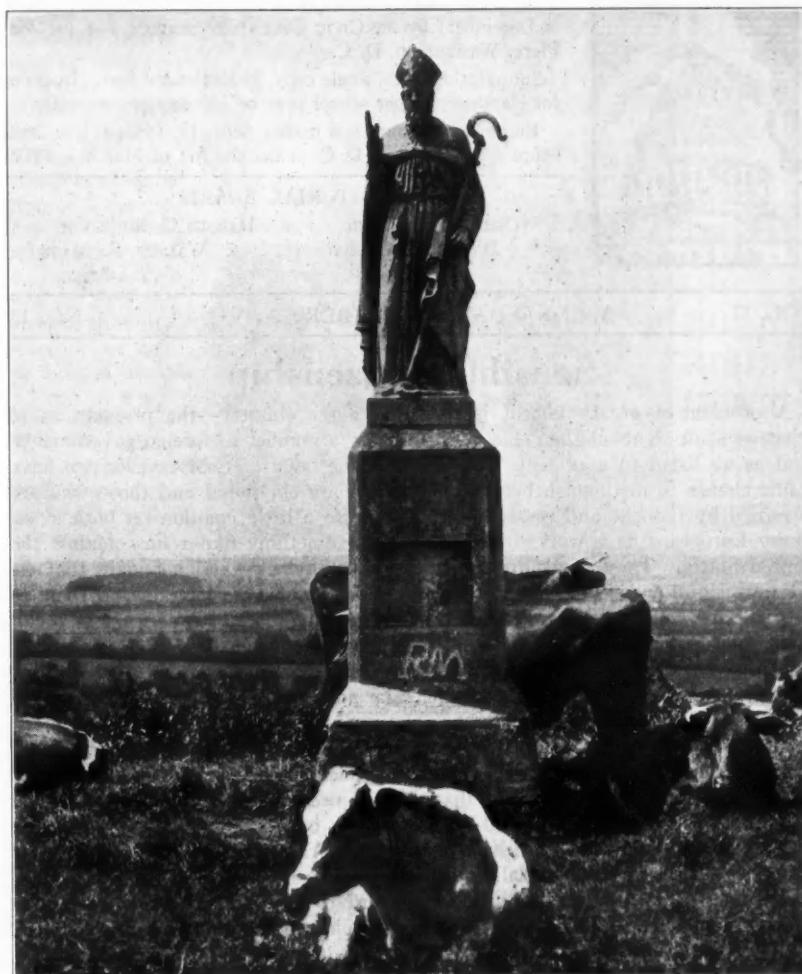
An understanding of present-day troubles in Ireland and the spectacle which took place at the Prince of Wales' recent visit must go back several hundred years. In the latter half of the twelfth century, Henry II, king of England, crossed over to Ireland and conquered a part of the is-

land, then under control of native chiefs or kings. The people were resentful when British laws were imposed upon them. Under the reign of Henry VIII, however, bitterness increased because Catholicism was no longer the state religion of England, whereas the Irish adhered fervently to the Catholic faith. When the inhabitants of Ulster—now Northern Ireland—rebelled, their lands were confiscated and turned over to emigrants from England and Scotland, mostly Protestants. Finally, Ireland was united to Great Britain in 1801 but that did not settle matters to the satisfaction of the Irish.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a strong movement for home rule, or separation from Great Britain. Most of this took place in the southern part of the island. Several home rule bills were introduced in the British parliament but until 1912, they were all defeated. Just before the outbreak of the World War, however, the House of Commons passed a bill providing for the setting up of a separate parliament for all of Ireland. This did not satisfy the people of Ulster. They did not want to be subject to rule from the south. They much preferred to remain united to Great Britain. This part of the country had become Protestant, as we have seen, and the southerners were Catholic. Civil war threatened. But this home rule did not become effective because of the intervention of the World War.

By the close of the war, the British government had realized that it was impossible to solve the Irish question by home rule under one government for all Ireland. In 1920, Parliament passed another home-rule bill which, it thought, would satisfy the Irish. It provided for two separate governments, the one to contain six of the counties of Ulster and the other the remaining section. This satisfied the northern Irish for they were not anxious completely to sever the bonds which united them to Britain. While they were granted a parliament of their own, they remained linked to Great Britain through the crown and through representation in the parliament in London.

The southerners, however, were highly displeased. Many of them wanted complete independence. They refused to accept the 1920 arrangement. The following year, the London government sought to pacify them by granting them domin-



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STATUE OF ST. PATRICK ON THE HILL OF TARA, IRELAND

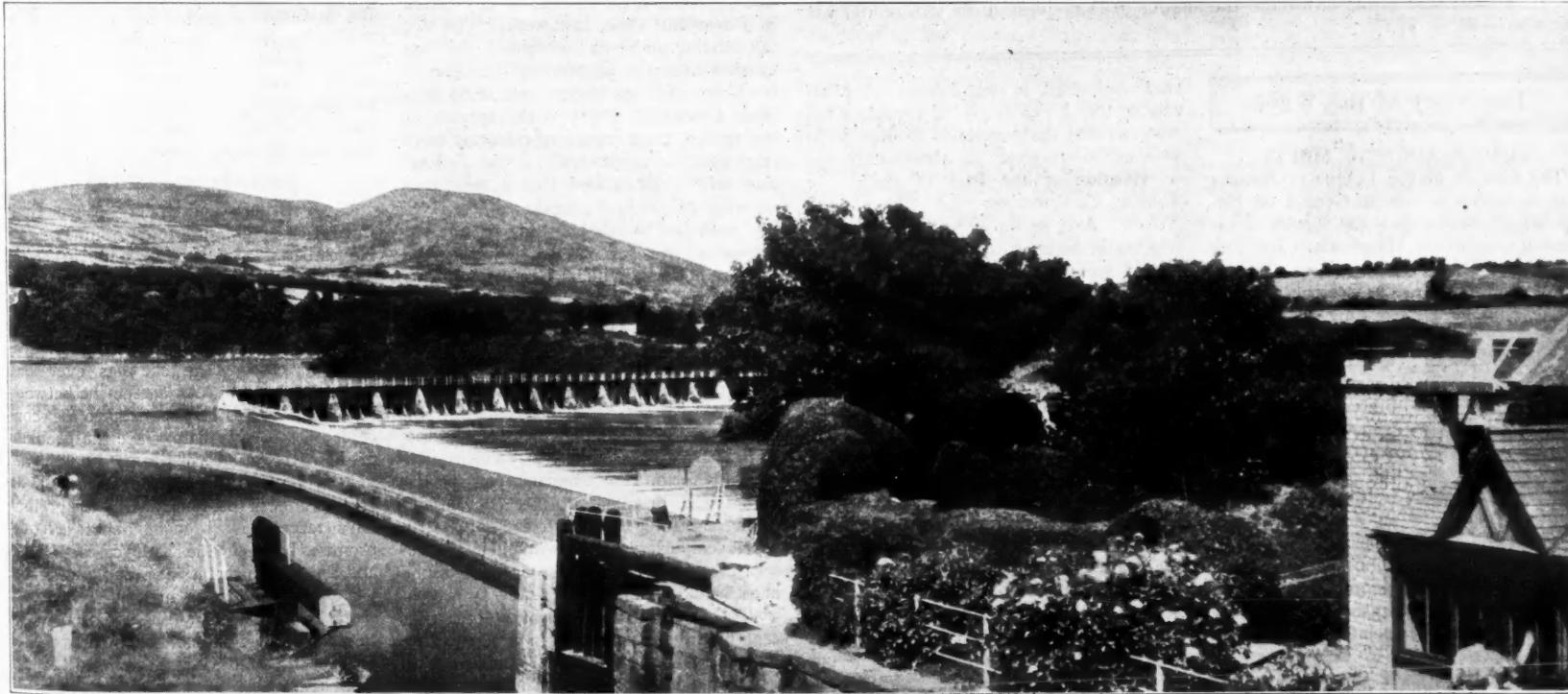
The hill of Tara was in antiquity a chief seat of the Irish monarchs, and from it was originally brought the famous stone used in the coronation of the Scottish kings.

ion status, such as that of Canada. An Anglo-Irish treaty was signed providing for the creation of the Irish Free State. Even this has not satisfied many of the southern Irish. The political party now in power at Dublin, that of Eamon de Valera, insists that the oath of allegiance to the British king, which all members of the Free State parliament must take, must be abolished.

If the people of Ulster had been willing to listen to union with the Irish Free State into a united Irish nation before the de Valera election, that turn of events has certainly removed such a possibility. Most of the northern Irish resent the movement

for complete separation from the British crown. Only the Nationalists, those who staged the hostile demonstration at the Prince of Wales' visit to Belfast, appear desirous of such a change.

Not only are the religious differences responsible for this hostility between the two sections of Ireland but many other factors are involved. Northern Ireland for instance, is highly industrialized. The well-being of its people depends in no small degree upon the markets of other parts of the United Kingdom—England, Wales and Scotland. It does not wish to see its economic life wrecked by British tariffs imposed against its goods.



"WHERE THE RIVER SHANNON FLOWS"

Progress has overtaken this romantic spot in Ireland. A great electric power development is under way and is expected to be of immeasurable advantage to industry.

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NO. 13

Sensible Citizenship

A problem of great moment is now before the country—the problem as to what we shall do about the debts owed to us by a number of foreign governments. And as we listen to arguments bearing upon the issue of debt revision we have a fine chance to distinguish between those who are emotional and those who are governed by thought and reason. There is quite a little emotion on both sides. Many Europeans have worked themselves into something like a fury against the United States. They speak of our country as "Shylock" and insinuate that we are both sinful and selfish in expecting the money which we have loaned them to be paid back. These charges are echoed by great numbers of Americans who call upon their government to renounce claims assumed to be unjust. On the other side we have the emotional insistence that America stand upon her legal rights and collect every dollar. These claims take no account of the probable consequences of the collection of debts.

The more reasonable citizens are concerned not so much with legal rights as with the consequences of payment or non-payment. They recognize the fact, as every well-informed person should, that the European nations borrowed the money and promised, presumably in good faith, to pay it back. They needed the money very badly and could not raise it at home. They came to the United States and asked for help. If the financial leaders who represented their governments were at all competent, they knew it would be hard to pay the money back. They knew all about the difficulty of transferring gold from one country to another. And yet they asked for the money. They got it and spent it. Now they are under obligation, both legal and moral, to pay the money back if they can. The United States is not a Shylock to expect payment.

But other considerations must be taken into account. Admitting the legal obligation of the European nations to pay and the legal right of the United States to collect, we may still ask whether we would be better off, or worse off, if the payments were made. Suppose, as a matter of fact, the transfer of this money back to the United States would throw financial systems out of gear, would render currency unstable, would lead nations to erect barriers against import trade, would prolong the depression. (See THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, November 23). If such a situation would result from the payment of the debts, it would be better for us to forego payment, not because of a moral obligation upon us to forgive debts, but because more harm than good would result from the payment. The issue should be settled, then, upon economic grounds and after the examination of economic facts.

The sensible citizen will approach all of our great public problems in that same spirit of inquiry concerning probable consequences of different lines of action. He will not stand on legal rights. He will not stand upon traditional rights, or conventional rights. With respect to every question that comes up he will turn aside from past considerations and from all questions of mere rights and will say: What will be the situation if the question is decided this way? What will be the situation if it is decided that way? Which situation will contribute most to the well-being of our own people and the people of the world? And when he has found in his own mind the answer to that question he will render his decision.—W. E. M.

The Story of the Week

LEAGUE COUNCIL MEETS

The Council of the League of Nations met in special session at Geneva on November 21 to consider the Lytton Commission's report on Manchuria. (See THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, October 12).

The meeting marked the beginning of a critical period for the League. Japan has practically defied Geneva to take action and has denied the findings of the Lytton Commission. In a long, carefully prepared statement, published the day before the meeting of the Council the Japanese government undertook point by point to refute the Lytton report.

At the meeting itself spokesmen for the Japanese and Chinese governments again expressed the views which by now have become well known. Japan again insisted

that she acted in self-defense in Manchuria, that China is not an organized nation and that the conversion of Manchuria into an "independent" Manchukuo was not a violation of the Pact of Paris, the League Covenant or the Nine Power Treaty.

And on the other hand the Chinese again declared that China is the victim of aggression, that she is a sovereign nation and that the three treaties have been broken by Japan. They demand that Japan be disciplined by the League.

The two disputing countries are just as far from reaching a settlement of the problem as ever. China stands by the Lytton Report and Japan rejects it. The question is placed squarely before the League for action. However, it seems that long drawn-out negotiations and discussions are in prospect. Eamon de Valera, president of the Council, indicated that the matter would shortly be referred to the Assembly and from there it will probably go to the special nineteen power commission established last March to deal with the Far East crisis.

VON PAPEN RESIGNS

Chancellor Franz von Papen of Germany and his entire cabinet resigned from



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LORD LYTTON

office on November 17. The collective resignation was tendered to President von Hindenburg after Herr von Papen discovered that he was unable to win the support of a majority of the members of the Reichstag. After the Reichstag elections of November 6, in which the von Papen government was supported by only ten per cent of the voters, the chancellor conferred with party leaders in an attempt to win their support so that his cabinet might carry on. But such efforts were fruitless and the cabinet had to resign.

President von Hindenburg immediately took steps to meet the new crisis and work out a solution without dissolving the Reichstag and calling new elections. He conferred with the heads of the leading parties—such as the National Socialist, or Hitlerite, the Catholic Centre, the Bavarian People's Party and the Nationalists. Several of these groups would have to come to terms in forming a new cabinet as no party commands sufficient strength in the Reichstag to govern in its own power.

It is understood that the chancellorship was offered to Adolf Hitler, head of the National Socialists, strongest party in the present parliament with 195 of a total 582 seats. But in inviting the Nazi leader to form a cabinet, the president laid down definite restrictions, which would greatly curb Hitler's power. Before assuming office, Hitler would have to agree to carry on many of the policies inaugurated by the von Papen government.

THE BUDGET

President Hoover held a special meeting with his cabinet on November 19 to consider government finances. The president is anxious to bring next year's budget into balance without levying additional taxes. In order to do this, it will be necessary to effect economies amounting to about \$700,000,000. It is expected that recommendations for such reductions in governmental expenditures will be made by Mr. Hoover in his budget message to Congress early next month. Details of the economy plans discussed with members of the cabinet will not, of course, be made public until the budget is prepared and presented to Congress but it is understood that Mr. Hoover expects to make the savings by cutting down many of the bureaus and commissions of the government.

A. F. OF L.

The American Federation of Labor, representing more than two and one-half million workers, held its annual convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, last week. The two outstanding problems confronting the convention were the adoption of the shorter work-day and work-week and unemployment insurance. Prior to the opening of the session, trade unions representing more than half the membership of the Federation, had recommended that a resolution favoring the general adoption of the five-day week and the six-hour day in industry throughout the nation. In delivering the keynote address, William Green, president, stated that such a step would have to be taken in order to provide work for the 11,000,000 jobless and improve general conditions.

As discussion of the unemployment insurance question took place, there appeared dissension among members of the A. F. of L. The executive council had brought forth a recommendation shortly before the opening of the convention, urging the forty-eight state legislatures to enact compulsory unemployment insurance measures. The entire cost of such insurance would be borne by industry which would be obliged to contribute three per cent of the amount spent in wages to the insurance fund. The fund would be administered by the states. The council declared that it would have urged the enactment of unemployment insurance measures by the federal government but that such



THERE'LL BE NO REST TILL IT'S FIXED

—Talbert in Washington News

laws would be deemed unconstitutional. It did, however, urge that Congress enact such legislation for workers engaged in interstate commerce and those employed in federal territory, such as the District of Columbia. Those opposed to the council's plan favored a broader program of insurance in which the government would make contributions.

MC KEE AND TAMMANY

Joseph V. McKee, mayor of New York City, threw a bomb into the politics of that city on November 16. In an address delivered before the New York State Chamber of Commerce, Mr. McKee denounced the policies and tactics of Tammany Hall, the Democratic organization which has controlled the government of the city for a number of years. The mayor said that the people of New York were "sick and tired" of such a government and were ready for a change.

Mr. McKee, himself a Democrat, had been acting as mayor since the resignation of James J. Walker several weeks ago. In the recent election, he did not run for office, the Democratic organization having nominated John P. O'Brien to finish Mr. Walker's term. However, 137,000 New York voters wrote the name of Mr. McKee on the ballot on election day. It was in commenting upon this action that the mayor denounced Tammany Hall in such strong terms, stating that it showed the people's desire for efficient government.

The rupture between Mr. McKee and Tammany Hall has served to rally many independent civic organizations to the mayor. They have started a movement for his election next year when a new mayor will have to be elected for the regular four-year term. The outburst has had the further effect of making the officials in charge of the city's finances take more definite action in cutting expenditures than they had previously been willing to do.

BRITAIN AND INDIA

Great Britain and India opened their third round table conference in London, November 17. It is expected that final arrangements will be completed at this conference—which will continue until the latter part of December—for a new Indian constitution, providing more self-government for India than she has ever had under British rule. An agreement between these two countries promises to be concluded at an early date, since the problem of how the "Untouchables" should vote in the new Indian Congress has been solved. It will be remembered that Gandhi's recent fast brought about a compromise between the high caste Hindus and the "Untouchables" on this vital issue.

Neither Gandhi nor any of the members of his Congress Party are represented at this conference. Gandhi is in prison and he has requested his followers not to attend—a request to which they willingly accede. Gandhi believes that Great Britain does not offer the Indian people enough independence.

WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

Patriotic Cooperation

Quite frequently we have occasion to reprint editorial comments from the Emporia (Kansas) *Gazette*. We quote from these editorials because this little newspaper in a small country town runs about two outstanding editorials to one appearing in any metropolitan daily which we read. This country-town newspaper is known throughout the nation because of the genius of its editor, William Allen White.



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WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE

and each of them is written by an authority in the field which is covered. Here is the list: What Shall We Do with Our Banks? by H. Parker Willis; Unemployment Insurance, by Leo Wolman; Toward a New Tax Program, by Edwin R. A. Seligman; Can the American Farm Be Saved? by E. G. Nourse; The Control of Big Business, by Walton H. Hamilton; Housing and Common Sense, by Clarence S. Stein; Planning for Power, by Morris Llewellyn Cooke; World Action for World Recovery, by Henry Hazlitt; Railroads, by Winthrop M. Daniels; Controlling the Business Cycle, by Ray Vance.

Each of these writers undertakes to outline a program of action which might be adopted immediately and which might be carried out within three or four years.

The authors avoid discussions of Utopias.

They discuss the possibilities of improvement which lie immediately at hand.

We have not the space here to speak of the contributions made by the different authors.

We undertake to suggest the nature of the whole volume by outlining briefly the points made by E. G. Nourse, an eminent authority on agricultural economics,

in his chapter, "Can the American Farm Be Saved?"

Mr. Nourse advocates this immediate program: (1) A moratorium on farm mortgages and a scaling down of mortgage obligations, so as to take account of the earning power of farms. (2) A change in the tax system so that dependence shall not be placed upon general property taxes, which bear so heavily upon farmers. Income taxes, gasoline taxes and inheritance taxes are advocated. (3) A reorganization of local government, doing away with the waste involved in the system of county government—a system appropriate to the horse and buggy age, but one which is now needlessly wasteful. (4) The acquisition by the government—especially the federal government—of land which is not well suited to agriculture but which if left in private hands will be used for agricultural purposes when better prices prevail. The use of this private land will then lead to overproduction and will depress prices. This can be prevented if the government will acquire the land and put it to other uses, such as, presumably, is implied in a reforestation program. Mr. Nourse believes that by the adoption of such a program prosperity can be restored to the farms.

This is a book which should certainly be on the shelves of every high school and college library. The articles are straightforward and readable and they furnish practical suggestions as to what should be done about a number of our most serious problems.

Recent American History

Another volume of Mark Sullivan's history of "Our Times" has appeared. The first volume, "The Turn of the Century," dealt with the last years of the eighteen hundreds and the opening of the twentieth century. The next volume, "America Finding Herself," carried the story forward a few years. The third volume, "Pre-War America," brought us to 1909. And now we have "Our Times—1909-1914," which brings the history of contemporary America to the breaking out of the Great War (New York: Scribner's. \$3.75 a volume).

The last volume con-

tinues the style which characterized the others. Mr. Sullivan, who is one of the most successful journalists of our time, is presenting a record of manners and customs and ways of life, as well as a record of public events and political developments. He is recreating before our eyes the America of twenty years or so ago, an America which in many ways was very unlike that which we know today. He pays much attention to fashions, to popular music, to plays, to industrial developments like the emergence of Henry Ford and like the movement for scientific management in business. He

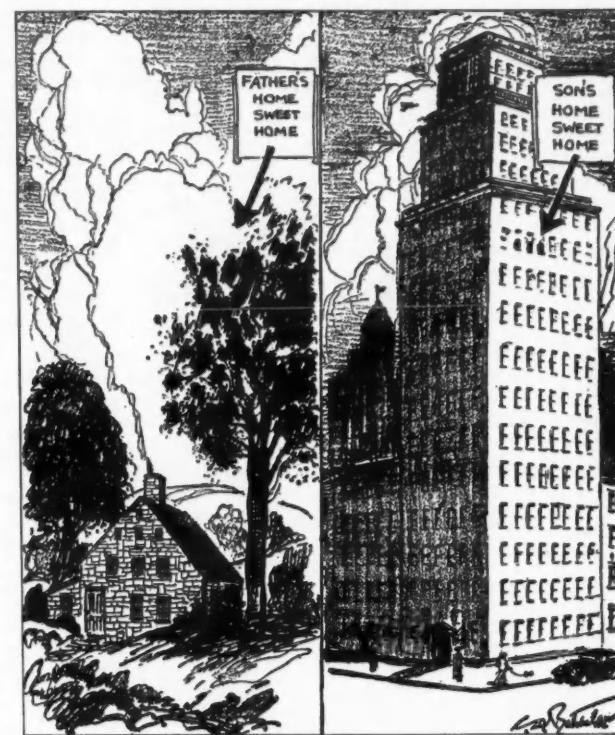
discusses art, woman suffrage, the coming of jazz music, and social changes such as the increase of divorce. The politics of the day, the election of Taft, the turmoils of the Taft administration, the break between Taft and Roosevelt, the election of Wilson—all this finds a place in the history. And so does the heavyweight championship battle between Jack Johnson and James J. Jeffries, Halley's Comet, Ford jokes, the increase of cigarette smoking by women, the change in advertising methods, the "hobble skirt," the onward sweep toward prohibition.

When Mr. Sullivan discusses a political movement such as Progressivism, he is neither profound nor critical. His manner is journalistic. He records surface facts and does not delve deeply into meanings or permanent significance of the phenomena he is describing. But he does write without apparent bias, and he does furnish a wealth of material which brings the recent past vividly before the eyes of his readers. And he writes clearly and interestingly at all times. He has gathered an excellent lot of illustrations, including many of the best cartoons of the period. His books should have a strong appeal for students of high school age, as well as for their elders.

What We Live For

Will Durant, author of "The Story of Philosophy," has written a little book, "On the Meaning of Life" (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. \$1.50), in which he raises the question as to what life is for, as to what constitutes successful and happy living, as to what one's greatest satisfactions in life are, or should be. In the preparation of the book he wrote to a number of prominent and successful men in all walks of life and asked them of what, in their own cases, life's greatest values consisted. A large number of replies were received and they form a considerable, and a very interesting, part of the book. These answers cover a wide range—from H. L. Mencken's statement that he works only to please himself and cares nothing for the effect upon others, to Mary E. Woolley's declaration that one of her chief satisfactions consists in her part in "bringing out the possibilities of other lives."

The question which Mr. Durant raises is one which every individual must answer for himself if he is to live successfully and happily. We believe that every boy or girl, every man or woman, will find in the pages of this little book something that will help him to think through the difficult problem of getting the most out of life. For that reason we recommend "On the Meaning of Life" most heartily.



THE OLD AMERICAN HOME—AND THE NEW ONE
An illustration in "Our Times" by Mark Sullivan. Originally a drawing by C. D. Batchelder in the *Public Ledger*, Philadelphia.

A Detective Story

From time to time we call attention to good mystery or detective stories because we know that many of our readers enjoy, occasionally, the diversion which a good story of that sort furnishes. We are glad to refer this week to "Money Musk" by Ben Ames Williams (New York: E. P. Dutton. \$2.00). We are not going to describe the plot because the indication of a plot destroys the interest in a detective story. We shall merely say that it conforms to our ideas of good fiction of this sort in that its characters are the ordinary people with whom the reader feels himself really acquainted. The plot carries some interest aside from that of detecting the criminal. The facts of the case are plausible and the interest is sustained to the last.

More Light on Important Problems

The *Nation* and the *New Republic*, in their issues of November 23, discuss the problem of international debts and call spiritedly for a revision of the debts in the interest of world recovery. The *New Republic* points out that "settlement of the war debt difficulty is only a first step in world reconstruction." And it continues:

Many things will remain to be done after this question is settled; these other problems are too large and cumbersome to be thrown into the same pot. There must follow adjustments of private debts, arms reduction, removal of trade barriers, stability of currencies. It will take many months at least to untangle these confusions. It is important to make haste by answering the simplest and most obvious questions first. After all these things have been done, the economic world may have a chance to stabilize itself. We should not be too timid to take the first step promptly, recognizing that the road ahead of it is mountainous and long.

The *Nation* closes its editorial with this appeal:

Our debtors now remind us that, in accordance with the communiqué published in Washington on the occasion of M. Laval's visit, they took the initiative at Lausanne and scaled down the German reparations to a mere fraction of their former sum. To complete that arrangement, they are asking concessions in the same broad spirit from ourselves. It will be disastrous if we reject their plea. At this moment thinking Americans everywhere must rally to those who are seeking the drastic reduction of these debts, if we are to save ourselves from even greater calamity than that we now know, and take our first great step toward economic recovery for ourselves and for the world.

Both these magazines in their November 23 issues deal with another subject which was discussed in last week's *AMERICAN OBSERVER*—that of the Russian experiment. These articles analyze and evaluate the work of the Communists in Russia since the revolution, and particularly the achievements of the Five Year Plan.



THE FAITHFUL ELEPHANT

—Munhall in Emporia GAZETTE

SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS

Attractiveness of Federal Offices

In the course of your reading about the setting up of the new government under the Constitution of 1789, and in your reading about the early days of the republic, you have probably come upon the fact that in those early years many prominent citizens did not care greatly for federal offices.

There was some question for a time as to whether it was a greater honor to hold a state office or a national office. The states were going concerns. They held the affections of their citizens. A public office in a state was a position of honor. But there was a question as to whether the federal government was more than a piece of machinery to provide for coöperation among the states and as to whether the states might not still be regarded as most important. That explanation is usually given for the fact that national offices were not so greatly coveted at the start as they became later. Did you ever stop, though, to inquire to what extent we have got away from that idea and to what extent the form of government which was created is one which induces participation in government by the best qualified citizens? It is true, of course, that the presidency is an office which any man in the country would be glad to accept. There is a question as to whether the best possible man is always chosen. Sometimes it appears that a man without the highest qualifications becomes a better candidate. He may be chosen by his party because it is thought that he will make a great appeal for votes, even though his qualifications for the office may not be the best. The fact remains, however, that the presidency is a much coveted office. Most of our leading political characters are glad, also, for seats in the Senate, and the highest judgeships are likely to claim eminent members of the bar.

Membership of the House

But how about the House of Representatives? This is the legislative body which stands closest to the people. The members come before the electorate each two years. Because of the nearness of this body to the people it has been given important powers

by the Constitution. All bills for raising revenue, that is, all bills for the taxing of the people, must originate in the House of Representatives. This body is frequently called the "lower house" and yet it has a power in legislation equivalent to that of the Senate. In many respects it may be compared to the House of Commons in England and to the Chamber of Deputies in France. But what of its membership? Are there as great a proportion of men of eminence in the House of Representatives as in the House of Commons in England or the Chamber of Deputies in France? Do a large proportion of the outstanding political leaders of the country have seats in the House of Representatives?

As a first step in the effort to answer this question fairly, we suggest that you secure a list of the men and women who were elected this month to the House of Representatives. There are 435 of them. See how many of them you have ever heard of. We have an idea that you will

By David S. Muzzey and Walter E. Myer

see very few familiar names. There will be a very few who have really national reputations. Or, you might approach the question from another angle. It would be an interesting thing to make out a list of one hundred men or women whom you regard as being the outstanding characters in American politics. Take this list of one hundred of the nation's most prominent political leaders and see how many of them are in the House of Representatives. Again, you will find very few indeed. Some of your one hundred eminent political leaders will be in the Senate. Others will be governors of states. Some of them will be cabinet officers. Some will be editors or writers. Quite a large number will be men who hold no official positions at all. And at most merely a handful will have seats in the House of Representatives.

Scarcity of Great Leaders

It is no mere accident that we have so few conspicuous characters in this important legislative body. The nature of the membership in the House follows as a consequence from our governmental system itself. Three factors in the political situation contribute to congressional mediocrity. In the comparison we shall make between our Congress, and particularly our House of Representatives, and the British House of Commons, we are not suggesting that our system ought to be changed, or that it ought to be like the British system. We are merely pointing to the differences which exist and to certain apparent consequences. We are undertaking to do just one thing; and that is to account for the fact that a smaller proportion of the greatest political leaders find their way into the national legislature in the United States than is the case in England and certain other countries.

Here is a fact of considerable significance: In England membership in the House of Commons is a natural stepping stone to the highest positions in the English government. The prime minister and his cabinet sit in Parliament. Most of them sit in the House of Commons. The cabinet is selected from the membership

of Parliament and, in the main, from the membership of the House of Commons. The leaders of the majority party in the House of Commons, because of that leadership, become cabinet ministers. The executive and the legislative departments of the government are not separated as they are in the United States. Any man, therefore, who has confidence in his ability and in the probability of his obtaining high office, will wish nothing better than to have a seat in the House of Commons. Just as soon as he shows leadership there he becomes, if his party is in the majority, a cabinet member, or he is likely to become so. And if he is eminent enough, he may be selected as the prime minister.

In the United States the situation is different. So long as a man remains in the House of Representatives, he is nothing

Other Roads to Eminence

more than a Representative. He may show such conspicuous talent in the House that he will be taken out of it and appointed to something else, or elected to something else. But the very fact of his leadership in the House does not give him cabinet rank or the headship of the government, as it may do in England. The greatest prizes in the national government do not come naturally, therefore, through leadership in Congress. The presidential office, which is the greatest prize of all, is not reached directly through membership in either house of Congress.

There is this further fact: We have in the United States a federal system of government. The states still remain and state offices are still highly regarded. Great Britain has no local divisions comparable in importance to the states in the American union. There is not the chance in England for a man to gain eminence as a local administrator, such as there is in the United States for a man to gain eminence by being a governor. A man who succeeds as a governor of an American state has a better chance of attracting attention and being named for the presidency than if he becomes a leader in the House of Representatives. A governorship is, in fact, a

stepping stone to the presidency. If we go back forty years we will find these presidents who have come to the presidency through governorships during that span of years: Grover Cleveland had been governor of New York; William McKinley had been governor of Ohio, though he had also served in the House of Representatives; Theodore Roosevelt had been governor of New York; Woodrow Wilson had been governor of New Jersey; Warren G. Harding had been lieutenant-governor of Ohio and also senator; Calvin Coolidge had been governor of Massachusetts; and Franklin D. Roosevelt will go to the presidency from the governorship of New York. Six of the nine presidents during the last forty years ascended to that high office after having been the governors of their states.

The Residence Handicap

Finally, we have the rule in the United States that a member of the House of Representatives must be selected from the district where he resides. The Constitution provides merely that he shall be a citizen of the state from which he is chosen, but custom prescribes that he

shall also be a resident of the congressional district. He must live then, not only in the state from which he is elected, but in the section of the state from which he is elected. In England the people of an election district may send to Parliament any Englishman it chooses. He need not be a neighbor. Any district in the country can choose as its representative in the House of Commons the most eminent political leader of the nation, wherever he may happen to reside. Let us say again, that we are not arguing that the English system should, or should not, be adopted in the United States. We merely point out the fact of difference and we do call attention to the fact that this accounts in part for the absence from the House of Representatives of many of the leading Americans.

There are, of course, able and conscientious men in the House of Representatives. The sneers which we frequently hear at the membership of the House are usually unjustified. Too often attacks upon Congress come from people who have no sympathy with democracy, who would like to have something approaching presidential dictatorship in the United States and who are impatient when Congress exercises its right of deliberation on important public measures. Certain powerful economic organizations try deliberately to break the confidence of the people in Congress whenever the national legislature refuses to do their bidding. Whenever the attempt is made in Congress to impose heavy taxes upon the rich the cry is raised by interested parties that senators and representatives are ignorant and incapable. We must be on guard against propaganda. It is a fact, however, that the House of Representatives does not draw to itself a large share of the most successful and the most prominent political leaders of the nation, and the obscurity of the membership in that body comes as a natural and understandable result of certain governmental conditions such as those we have described—conditions which arise out of our constitutional system.



THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SESSION

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Farmers, Veterans and Hunger Marches to Washington Planned

"On to Washington" is the cry raised by a number of discontented groups throughout the country as they prepare to invade the nation's capital. Bonus seekers, hunger marchers and dissatisfied farmers are all intending to arrive in Washington for the opening of Congress, so that they can present their demands before the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives. Certain of these groups have indicated their intention of staying in Washington until the relief they ask for is granted.

A new bonus army is being mobilized by Emanuel Levin and Samuel J. Stember of New York City. A few days ago these two men met with 150 war veterans and plans were mapped out at this conference for another march on Washington. The leaders of this meeting declared that a bonus army would be organized "so large they won't dare attack it." This reference, of course, was inspired by the forced eviction of the veterans who were encamped in Washington during the early part of the summer. The new bonus march, like the one last spring, will have for its objective the immediate cash payment of the bonus, which amounts to more than \$2,000,000,000 and which is not due until 1945. Only veterans with accredited bonus certificates will be eligible to join this movement. It is planned that the marchers will leave New York a few days before Congress convenes, and they will be joined in Washington by other ranks which are being mobilized in different parts of the country.

Then there is the farmers' march. A fair-sized group of farmers are already on their way to the capital from Seattle, Washington. These marchers had to start early as they have a long distance to travel. They expect to increase their numbers all along the route. They have a definite program of farm legislation, including "no evictions, a moratorium on debts which farmers cannot pay, and cash

relief to stop hunger." In addition to these demands they ask for an immediate lowering of the farmers' taxes, a burden which, they say, has become unbearable when the fact is taken into consideration that many agricultural products are selling at lower prices than the costs of production.

Still another invasion of Washington is scheduled by the hunger marchers. They plan to arrive at about the same time as the two groups already mentioned. This march is being sponsored by a national organization of Communists. The leaders of the movement say they will have 10,000 demonstrators in Washington by December 5, to lay their demands before Congress. Their program calls for an immediate cash payment of \$50 by the federal government for each unemployed worker, the passage of a workers' unemployment insurance bill, and appropriations for federal child relief stations to take care of the thousands of roaming youths who are traveling from city to city seeking employment, because their families are unable to provide for them.

These marches are expected to offer a serious problem to Washington authorities, who have stated that all delegations with lawful purposes, and able to provide for their own sustenance would be allowed to enter the city, but that no funds are available in the capital to provide food and shelter for any outside groups.



© Wide World Photos

Scene at Sioux City, Iowa, this summer when farmers declared a holiday in an effort to boost the price of their products.

It is interesting to examine the programs of these dissatisfied elements and to make the inquiry as to whether or not their demands may be gradually shaped into legislative acts. The immediate cash payment of the bonus is very doubtful, as both President Hoover and President-elect Roosevelt are opposed to it, and preliminary polls of both houses of Congress show a large majority against it. With respect to unemployment insurance (Communist demand), there is no logical way of speculating on its prospect of becoming a national law. But the Democratic platform calls for unemployment and old-age insurance, under state laws, so something may be expected to be done along this line after the recent Democratic landslide. Whether or not the farmers' demands will be met in full is not known, but both the Democrats and Republicans have promised drastic action to relieve the farmers of their tremendous burdens.

ROBERT S. BROOKINGS

The recent death of Robert Somers Brookings brought to a close the career of a man who has contributed greatly to the welfare of his country. This sensitive-faced, distinguished-looking, eighty-two-year-old man passed away at his home in Washington, D. C., on November 15.

The first part of Mr. Brookings' life was devoted to business activities. He retired at the age of forty-six, a wealthy man, but he immediately set out to devote himself, as well as his money, to some form of public service. His first philanthropic enterprise began with Washington University in St. Louis. He led a movement completely to reorganize the university and placed it upon a sound financial basis. His greatest contribution was the development in St. Louis of one of the greatest medical centers in the world.

In 1917, prior to America's entrance into the war, he was one of three men called to Washington by President Wilson for the purpose of mobilizing this country's industries. In 1927 he established the Brookings Institution—an organization of prominent economists who carry on extensive investigations of economic and governmental problems.

Sir Arthur Salter, British Economist, in America

Sir Arthur Salter, the eminent British economist, came to this country a short time ago. Since his arrival he has addressed many prominent gatherings. He has stated his belief that America is now on the upturn of a natural business cycle, a statement which has created much encouragement coming, as it did, from such an authority.

Sir Arthur's life is the story of one who has devoted his entire energy to the public welfare. He was born in the old university town of Oxford in 1880. He performed brilliantly in both high school and college. After completing his academic training, he passed an examination for state service and entered the transport section of the admiralty as a clerk. He stayed there nine years. Shortly before the World War, England adopted a national unemployment insurance plan and Sir Arthur was placed in charge of the administrative machinery.

Then the war started and he was taken out of this position and appointed chairman of the ship requisition board. His powers were enlarged until finally no one could navigate a ship from England, France, Italy, Rumania, Serbia, Australia, Canada, South America or India without first obtaining Sir Arthur's consent.

With the close of the war and the subsequent formation of the League of Nations, Sir Arthur was selected as director of the economic and finance section of the League, which position he held for seven years. In this capacity he worked out plans of economic reconstruction for several European countries.

Sir Arthur is a free trader, an internationalist, and a member of the Liberal party in England. He is opposed to his country's recent tariff policy. He is an excellent lecturer; the possessor of a rich voice; decisive in his speech. He is short and muscular and has unbounded energy. His recent book "Recovery: The Second Effort," has been translated in nearly every language and it has been proclaimed as one of the most thought-provoking books on the world depression.

Gandhi's Personality Is Missed at Conference

Britain and India opened a third round table conference in London, November 17. (See page 4.) We do not hear as much about this conference as we did of the second one which was held in the autumn of last year. Perhaps the lack of news interest in this event is due to the absence of that frail, dark-skinned, spectacled idol

of millions of Hindus, Mahatma Gandhi. Now, as during the first round table conference, he is lodged in prison for refusing to obey British laws in India. But he recently proved that he still retains his powerful influence when he effected a compromise between hostile Indian groups

and England on the thorny problem of what to do with the "Untouchables" in the new Indian Congress. A seemingly impossible agreement was brought about as a result of Gandhi's "fast unto death."

Gandhi's life has been unusually colorful and varied. He was born in 1869. His parents were moderately well-to-do and they saw to it that Gandhi received a good education. At eighteen he was sent to a London university to study law. During his three years' stay in London he tried extremely hard to act and dress like an Englishman. In the evenings he wore a silk hat, a full dress suit and carried a cane. He took dancing lessons, studied French and learned to play the violin. He was considered a clever, dapper young fellow, with an extremely bright future



MAHATMA GANDHI



© Acme
FRANCES PERKINS



© Kajiwara Photo
ROBERT S. BROOKINGS



SIR ARTHUR SALTER

Congress Ready for Prohibition Battle as Wets Push Beer Issue

(Concluded from page 1)

of beer consumed and the rate of the tax levied. In 1917, the last full year during which beer could legally be sold, 1,885,000,000 gallons were consumed. If the same amount were sold in the event of modification of the Volstead Act and a tax of two cents a pint imposed by the federal government, approximately \$300,000,000 would be raised. The wets will continue to stress this argument as they have done ever since the depression set in. They feel certain that the shrinking of government revenues will lead many former drys to vote in favor of beer and a tax upon it.

Comparison With 1917

It is interesting to note that these arguments are similar to those used by the drys to obtain the enactment of national prohibition laws. Before the war, the prohibition battle had been fought upon moral grounds. Dry organizations tried repeatedly to get national prohibition by pointing to the evils of drink. While they were successful in having state prohibitory laws passed they were unable to secure a nation-wide law. In 1917, however, when the United States entered the World War, the drys made their attacks upon different grounds. They stressed the economic arguments. People were depriving the hungry of bread, they said, by drinking liquors. The grain used in the manufacture of beer, ale and whiskey should be used to feed people, they argued. Congress acted. On August 1, 1917, it passed a national prohibition law, a new amendment to the Constitution. In a little more than seventeen months, the legislatures of three-fourths of the states had ratified. Only two states—Rhode Island and Connecticut—failed to place their stamp of approval upon the new amendment. Thus, prohibition became directly connected with the battle to win the war.

Now, rightly or wrongly, it has become linked to the united battle to win against the forces of depression. The wets are on the offensive just as the drys were in the early war days. We should repeal the prohibition laws, they say, in order to find work for the jobless and start the wheels of industry moving once more. We should open the breweries in order that the farmers may find markets for their surplus grain. Not only would repeal cause hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes to flow into the government treasury, they

continue, but it would eliminate millions of dollars now spent in enforcement.

Methods of Change

Before going further into the merits of these arguments, let us see just what steps are necessary to alter the present laws. It should be remembered that the prohibition fight centers upon two laws, the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. The first is a part of the Constitution and makes unlawful the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages throughout the United States. The second is an act of Congress which defines "intoxicating" beverages as those containing more than one-half of one per cent alcohol.

The eighteenth amendment can be changed only by adding a new amendment to the Constitution. The new amendment would have to be adopted in the same manner as any constitutional amendment. It must receive a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress and must be accepted by three-fourths of the states. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the form the new amendment should take. The Democrats favor an amendment which merely states that the eighteenth amendment is repealed. This would mean that each state would have the right to decide the liquor problem as it saw fit. The Republicans, on the other hand, would submit an amendment repealing the eighteenth amendment but providing that in no case should the saloon be allowed to return anywhere in the country. The difference is that the Republicans would retain police power in the federal government whereas the Democrats would give complete power to the various states, each to determine for itself what it should do about the liquor question.

It is taken for granted that the national government would act to prevent the importation of liquor from wet states into dry states. The federal government had such power before national prohibition by the Webb-Kenyon law, enacted in 1913.

Volstead Act

Modification of the Volstead Act could be brought about more easily. It would take only an act of Congress requiring a majority in each house and the president's signature. In case the president vetoed such a law, as President Wilson vetoed the original Volstead law in 1919, it would require a two-thirds' majority in

Congress to override his veto. The states would not have to ratify such an act. In the impending beer controversy in Congress, the attitude of President Hoover is an important factor. It is not known whether he would veto such a law. He has been silent on the matter. Even the wets feel that Mr. Hoover's veto would make modification impossible during the coming session because they do not believe they can pass it over his veto.

There are many who feel that such action can be taken by Congress without violating the Constitution. They say that beer and wine containing four per cent alcohol are not in fact "intoxicating" and could legally be sold in strict accord with the principles of the eighteenth amendment. There is but one body in the country, however, with final power to determine such a matter and that is the Supreme Court. In the event Congress modifies the Volstead Law, either at the coming session or at any time while the eighteenth amendment is still on the statute books, it will be the duty of the Supreme Court to pass judgment on the constitutionality of such a law.

Another important factor entering into the present situation is the lack of a definite plan of governmental control in the case of repeal. Many members of Congress, and private citizens as well, feel that definite machinery should be set up to prevent the return of pre-prohibition conditions, before the laws are repealed. They say that such plans should be definitely worked out beforehand and that it would be imprudent on the part of Congress to act until such machinery has been provided for, either by the states or by the national government.

Impending Battle

On the eve of this great struggle over such an important national issue, both camps—drys and wets—are whipping their forces into shape. The wets are seizing upon the victory they have won at the polls to carry their program through to accomplishment. They are constantly restating the economic arguments already cited. The drys are retorting that the wets are grasping at an illusory rainbow when they say that repeal will mean increased employment and an end of the depression. They point with much logic to the fact that, while repeal might afford employment to many men in breweries and dispensaries of alcoholic beverages, its ill effects would more than offset such advantages.

On the purely economic grounds, the dry argument is principally as follows: Repeal would not provide additional jobs. If people were permitted to buy alcoholic beverages, they would spend less for soft drinks, such as root beer and coco-cola, and for milk, and for ice cream. As a result, the other industries, which have greatly expanded their activities since national prohibition, would become depressed, would have to throw men out of work, and this would cause serious dislocations. Furthermore, if people spent more for beer, they would have less to spend for meat and bread and clothing and radios and automobiles.



THE EXILE

—Darling in N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE

In this way, those industries, too, would suffer.

In spite of recent wet victories throughout the country, the drys have not given up the battle. In the lobbies of Congress, they will use every power at their disposal to prevent the enactment of repeal laws. Even if they fail in this the drys feel that they are still secure and that national prohibition is not doomed. They are confident that the wets will never be able to obtain the endorsement of three-fourths of the states. Thirteen states could block repeal. The drys feel certain that there are at least thirteen dry states in the nation, because there were more than thirty states having state prohibition laws before 1917 when the eighteenth amendment was enacted.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Scientists can always feel sure of a job—discovering that what they had discovered was a mistake. —Toledo BLADE

Returns from Russia agree that the Soviet is determined to carry out the five-year plan even if it takes 20 years to do it. —Roanoke TIMES

If you think disarmament is just arithmetic, you are wrong. It involves intricate political problems, not just arithmetic. It is the most difficult question mankind has faced since the Stone Age. —James T. Shotwell

There is considerable misuse of the word "relieved." A man may be relieved of an aching tooth, but when his pocketbook is snatched away he feels no sense of relief whatever. —Pasadena POST

The airplane pilot who committed suicide because, he asserted, there are no thrills left made a mistake. He should have tried to ride across town in a taxi. —Roanoke TIMES

They say that silence is golden—maybe for the reason that, like the yellow metal, it gets scarcer every year. —Washington STAR

To be trusted is a greater compliment than to be loved. —George MacDonald

To be on the losing end of a political landslide is like being seasick—at first you are afraid you are going to die and then you are afraid that you can't. —Rich Hill (Mo.) REPUBLICAN

No decent life is possible for the masses of a great city who are subject to the speculator, the buccaneer, and the job-holder. In a great city people live so close together that their essential needs have to be collectively organized and regulated. —Walter Lippmann

Anyway, the income tax collector won't complain of overwork this year. —New York HERALD-TRIBUNE



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WET FORCES, ON THE AGGRESSIVE, HAVE STAGED MANY DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOR OF THE RETURN OF LEGALIZED BEER